8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

131
161 probably too low. The 1927 census reported 814,485 persons in Albania; the 1930 census raised the figure to 1,003,124, of whom 104,184 were Catholics. The 1930 census gives the population density for Albania as 36.5 per square kilometer, or 102 per square mile. The mountain Gheg country, newly divided into 3 provinces without regard to tribal boundaries, was said to have 100 inhabitants per square mile in Dibra province, 75 in Scutari province, and 64 in Kossovo province.

In 1930 the land area of Albania was 10,600 square miles. With a population of 1,003,124 the density was thus 94 per square mile, not 102. If we subtract 8 from each of the other figures, we obtain the following corrections: Dibra—92, Scutari—67, Kossovo—56. This can be checked by means of the Catholic figures. Of the 104,000 Catholics at least 14,000 live in cities, leaving no more than 90,000 on tribal lands. Tribal lands exclusively Catholic cover ca. 1225 square miles; those occupied by Catholics and Moslems together about 440 square miles. Thus 1450 square miles may be considered Catholic country, and with a population of 90,000 this yields 62 persons per square mile, which accords with the corrected census figure. Striking a point between the Dibra and Kossovo figures we obtain about 70 per square mile for Moslem lands, which cover about 2300 square miles. This yields a population of about 160,000. One hundred and sixty plus 90 equals 250. Hence our estimate of a total Gheg population of 250,000.[6]

●124 Our series of nearly 1100 men may represent one per cent of the adult male total, a large sample, compared to other national surveys of equal detail. It was drawn from all tribes and from every part of each tribe. It includes chief elders, gendarmes, farmers, what artisans there are, *hodjas*, and in short a complete cross section of the population, both regionally in most tribes, and in regard to differentiations based on rank and occupation. We did not measure

of *u* and *i*. Actually, Arabic vowels are few, rudimentary, and unindicated in ordinary writing. Semantically, they are of less importance than in Turkish, whence the form *Moslem*, and it was the Turks who converted the seventy per cent of the Albanians who are Muslims. Few of them, I suspect, will object to the book on these grounds.

[6] Almagià, 1932; *Arbenia*, June 1, 1930, for census figures; *National Catholic Almanac*, 194C, p. 93.

124 mountain men who had come down to the cities; we went into the mountains and measured them in their homes.

121 Beside the anthropometric data itself we have taken some trouble to describe and discuss the natural and social environments in which our subjects lived. This material is as essential for our study as the measurements and observations on the men themselves. It not only describes the physico-chemical influences that bear on the growing organisms, but also designates their systems of mating, which are of prime importance to anyone interested in genetic problems. Furthermore, and as we shall see this is also of primary importance, it reveals the culturally controlled mechanical influences which literally "shape our ends"; the techniques of cradling babies while their heads are still plastic, and which the Albanian mountaineers, like other peoples in southeastern Europe and western Asia, employ.

In the following chapters we shall not attempt to cover every detail of Gheg civilization. This is not a work of ethnography, but one of somatology. We are interested in the main outline of the culture as a whole and only in those details that bear specifically on our problem: who are the Ghegs and how did they acquire their present anatomical characteristics?

000 One further act of definition is necessary: to place our sample on the scale of time. In describing any culture, the ethnographer must

[1] Chapple and Coon, 1942, front end paper.

000 set his scene at some specific point in time. All cultures change, either in complexity or merely in detail, and even those which move the most slowly vary enough in a few years to make this step necessary. Such a specific time locus is called the "ethnographic present."[7]

121 For the purposes of this study the ethnographic present should be the time between the date at which the majority of our anthropometric subjects were conceived and that at which they had reached adult physical form. Thus both heredity and environment will be •[124] given due attention. The 1063 men in our series ranged from 18 years of age to senility, with the great majority between 25 and 49. The mean was 39.4 years. We did our measuring in 1929–30. The mean date of birth was thus 1890, with a range of from 1860 or earlier to 1911. If we add 20 years for the maturation process the range rises from about 1880 to the date of measuring, with its mean at 1910.

Our ethnographic present is therefore a time band 2 decades wide, concentrated in the period 1890–1910. At this time the mountain tribal areas of Ghegnia formed, like the rest of Albania, part of the Turkish Empire, and the heroic age of family feuds and intertribal warfare was in full swing. In the cultural descriptions given in chapter 3 on "Technology and Occupation" through 6, "Ritual Life,"[1] the reader must remember that unless otherwise specified we have reference only to this epic age.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 1a – 38b --Analyst]

121 HABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.[1] It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).[2] The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

124

We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

101

1 [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

●124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 463 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1/1 [See p. 11d - Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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●124
463

	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904. 1/1

1/1 [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b --Analyst]

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463

Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

[391]

The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has, within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

-12a-

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

●124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Matu. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

●124 463 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 391 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90.

--13a--

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 11a--13a --Analyst]

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*).[1] His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [[177]] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our
619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[a] were elders, 26 chief

[a] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

124 619 [463] elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*).[1] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles were, we did not determine. The ancient tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

619 642

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

[623]

619 643

The strength of the prince as compared to that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 M[illegible], and 1 Dibra.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3.[illegible] All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 793 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Albania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox. how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c--Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

● [124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analysis]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission. Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

● 124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving

105 on, we offer the following summary of the preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

1[See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

2[1[See cat. 116, pp. 3 b-46a -- Analyst] -47a]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30,46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

THE number of men whom we measured in Ghegnia depended on how widely we could travel, how much time we had, and how long it took to measure each man once we had persuaded the local people to submit to this nonsense. Before we had gone far we decided that 100 men per tribe was about our limit. This number is large enough to serve as a statistical sample, and it was about as many men as we could get to submit in each area without wearing out our welcome. Whenever we measured a man defective in some criterion, as, for example, with a bent back, or edentulous jaws, we counted him as one over the 100. Thus, in every criterion we could have a total of 100 or more. In Has, our series is larger, because on the last day more men appeared than we had expected and we could not stop measuring without giving offense.

We avoided measuring soldiers when we could, because they had been selected for stature. Only a few who were home on leave were included in our series. We also avoided measuring in cities, preferring to study our subjects in their native places. Thus we could be sure of what we were getting. One exception was made. In Scutari we measured the members of *bairaks* fugitive from Montenegro, particularly Gruda. Otherwise we would not have had them. Elsewhere measuring became somewhat of a ritual. The elders were usually present, and they would dictate the protocol. They would also hear what the younger men said about their family histories, and more than once corrections were made on the intervention of these elderly mentors. Only when they tried, once or twice, to have the tallest and strongest men measured first, was it necessary to interfere with their arrangements. In Kukës we measured in a restaurant. There our agents, soldiers and gendarmes, lured men in off the street, and our check on their provenience and relationships left something to be desired, as will shortly appear.

The composition of our tribal samples appears in detail in table 2.[1] As the reader can

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 51-54--Analysis]

124 see, we tried to distribute our sample equably among the *bairaks*, with varying degrees of success. Klementi, which has 5 *fis*, produced 4 of our subjects by internal mating. The 3 apparently endogamous Gruda products reflect the mating of the 2 *fis*, Berisha and Djell, discovered by Miss Durham. The Hoti-Hoti man may have had a mother from the *anas*; the Kastrati-Kastrati man reflects the presence of 2 *fis*. Koplik and Greisha, being almost entirely Moslem, form what is virtually a unit. Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, and Loya are mostly exogamous, while Postripa subjects were derived from local parents only. On the whole Malsia e Madhe forms an interbreeding population with little tendency for local marriages, except among the lacustrine *bairaks* of Koplik and Greisha, and in Postripa. Postripa should have been given separate treatment, as Miss Durham's evidence indicates, but it is now too late.

In Dukagin we measured at only one place, the hill of St. George on the boundary between Shoshi and Shala. Both Shoshi and Shala were partially endogamous, Shala predominantly so. This reflects the presence of *ana* households, and splits into 2 *fis* each. Toplana, Kiri, Dushman, and Pulati, all parts of the Lower Pulati group, are represented only on the maternal side. Since these people habitually marry across the river into the northern *bairaks* of Puka, we decided to concentrate on the Dukagin element in the tribe of that name. As in the case of Postripa, I feel that this was a mistake.

The sample for Malsia e Jakovës shows a more equable distribution. If Nikaj men were slighted, the mothers of all Merturi men may compensate. These 2 *bairaks*, being *fis*, intermarry habitually. In Has we did not discover that a second and very small *bairak*, Ershan, existed until our series was complete. In Luma we could not determine the *bairaks* of 8 men, all of whom said that their fathers and mothers came from a single place. Perhaps they were joking and making up silly names. That is one of the tribulations the physical anthropologist

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

Table 2: Composition of Tribal Samples.

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Malsia e Madhe				
Klementi	Klementi	4	Catholic	2 Vulli, 1 Nic Klemend
Klementi	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Gruda	Hoti	1	Catholic	
Gruda	Kuçi	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Triepsh	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Hoti	1	Moslem	
Hoti	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Triepsh	5	Catholic	
Kastrati	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Kastrati	Hoti	6	Catholic	
Kastrati	Gruda	2	Catholic	
Koplik	Koplik	8	Moslem	
Koplik	Grnisha	2	Moslem	
Koplik	Kraja (Yugo)	1	Moslem	
Koplik	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Grnisha	Grnisha	1	Moslem	
Grnisha	Rioia	1	Moslem	
Grnisha	Koplik	6	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Shkrelli	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Klementi	3	Catholic	
Rioia	Rioia	1	Moslem	
Rioia	Loya	1	Moslem	
Rioia	Grnisha	3	Moslem	
Rioia	Koplik	2	Moslem	
Rioia	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Rioia	Shkrelli	1	Moslem	

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Malsia e Madhe				
Reçi	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Reçi	Rioia	2	Moslem	
Loya	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Loya	Kastrati	2	Catholic	
Loya	Hoti	2	Catholic	
Loya	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Loya	Rioia	2	Catholic	
Loya	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Loya	Postripa	1	Moslem	
Postripa	Postripa	10	Moslem	
Total		105	53 Catholics, 52 Moslems	

Malsia e Madhe, summary

Fathers	Father Only	Mother Only	Both	Total, Both or Either
Klementi	2	5	4	11
Gruda	4	5	3	12
Hoti	12	6	1	19
Kastrati	8	11	1	20
Koplik	4	8	1	13
Grnisha	7	5	1	13
Shkrelli	8	5	1	14
Rioia	10	5	1	16
Reçi	4	8	1	13
Loya	13	1	0	14
Postripa		1	10	11
Triepsch	0	6	0	6
Kraja (Yugo)	0	1	0	1

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Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Dukagin				
Shoshi	Shoshi	4	Catholic	
Shoshi	Shala	16	Catholic	
Shoshi	Kiri	3	Catholic	
Shoshi	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shoshi	Pulati (Kiri or Plani)	1	Catholic	
Shala	Shala	48	Catholic	
Shala	Shoshi	30	Catholic	
Shala	Kiri	1	Catholic	
Shala	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shala	Toplana	1	Catholic	
Total		106	All Catholics	
Malsia e Jakovës				
Krasniqi	Krasniqi	3	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Gashi	16	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Biruç	2	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Vunshaj	4	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Krasniqi	Grasa	1	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Gashi	Gashi	20	Moslem	2 of Shala *fis*
Gashi	Krasniqi	16	Moslem	
Gashi	Biruç	7	Moslem	
Gashi	Kastrati	2	Moslem	Kastrati a *fis*
Gashi	Hoti	2	Moslem	Hoti *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Marina	1	Moslem	Marina *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Junik (sp. ?)	1	Moslem	Junik *fis* in Yugo.
Biruç	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Biruç	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Kastrati	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Biruç	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Merturi	Nikaj	16	Catholic	
Nikaj	Merturi	1	Catholic	
Total		104	17 Catholics, 87 Moslems	

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Has				
Has	Has (Vlana)	101	Moslem	No *kshak* data recorded. Probably no Ershan, all Vlana.
Has	Has (Vlana)	13	Catholic	
		114	13 Catholics, 101 Moslems	
Luma				
Biçani	Biçani	30	Moslem	
Biçani	Kalishi	6	Moslem	
Biçani	Ujmishte	4	Moslem	
Biçani	Dolovishte	3	Moslem	
Kalishi	Kalishi	5	Moslem	
Ujmishte	Ujmishte	23	Moslem	
Ujmishte	Biçani	2	Moslem	
Dolovishte	Dolovishte	6	Moslem	
Dolovishte	Biçani	1	Moslem	
Çaja	Çaja	1	Moslem	
Topojan	Topojan	2	Moslem	I do not know whether these places are *fis* or *kshaks*, nor where they are, except that they are all part of Luma.
Borfa	Borfa	1	Moslem	
Dom	Dom	1	Moslem	
Pulç	Pulç	1	Moslem	
Lofme	Lofme	1	Moslem	
Bele	Bele	1	Moslem	
Probres	Probres	1	Moslem	
Total		109	109 Moslems	
Puka				
Kabash	Puka	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Çeret	7	Moslem	
Kabash	Mal i Zi	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Buzhon	1	Moslem	
Kabash	Buzhon	1	Catholic	
Kabash	Ballja	1	Catholic	
Puka	Puka	5	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	1	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	1	Catholic	
Puka	Çeret	1	Moslem	
Puka	Çeret	1	Catholic	
Puka	Mal i Zi	1	Moslem	
Puka	Buzhon	1	Catholic	

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

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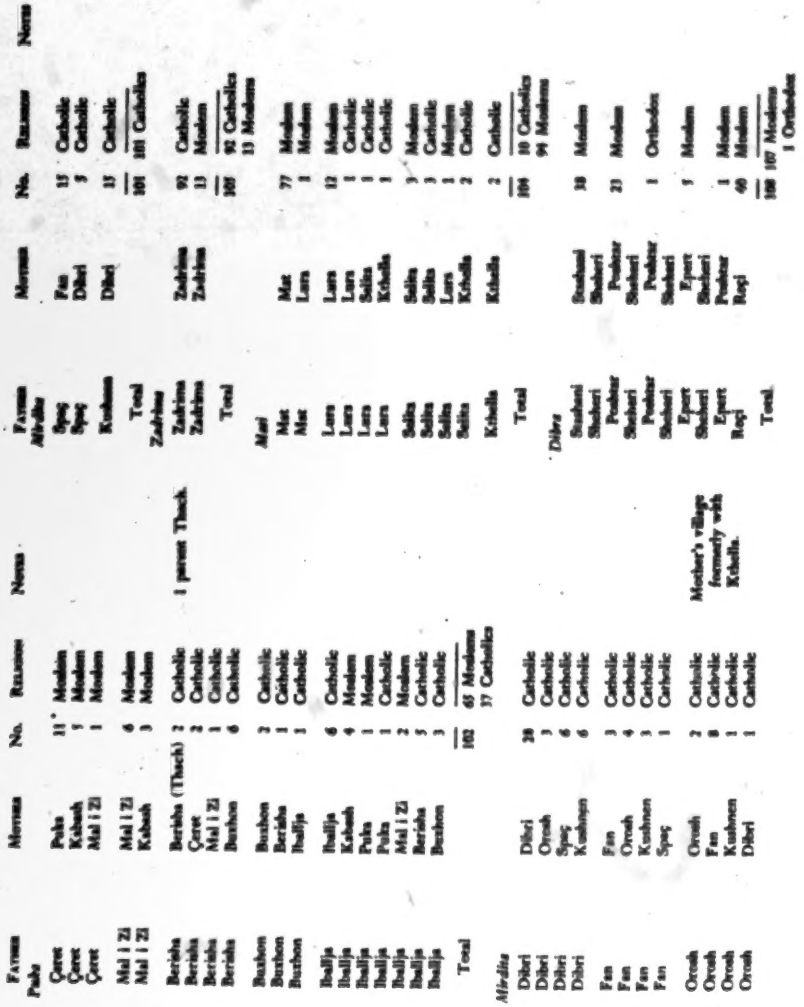

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Totals by Religion

Catholics	434
Moslems	632
Greek Orthodox	1
Total	1067

Totals by Tribes

Malsia e Madhe	105
Dukagjin	105
Malsia e Jakovës	104
Has	114
Luma	109
Puka	102
Mirdita	101
Zadrima	105
Mati	104
Dibra	108
Intertribal	9
Total	1067

M. prob. Merturi

Intertribal Mixtures

Shala (Dukagjin)	Klementi (MeM)	1	Catholic
Luma	Dibra	1	Moslem
Berisha (Puka)	Mirdita	1	Catholic
Buxhon (Puka)	Malsia e Jakovës	2	Catholic
Spaç (Mirdita)	Kthella (Mati)	1	Catholic
Fan (Mirdita)	Dibra	1	Catholic
Reçi (Dibra)	Lura (Mati)	1	Moslem
Reçi (Dibra)	Luma	1	Moslem
Total		9	6 Catholics 3 Moslems

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AGE IN THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

From it we may see that the sample is a mature one, and that it includes a wide spread, from 18 to 65 years and over, with each age grade over 19 represented by a statistically adequate subsample. We must expect our criteria to show every condition from late adolescence to senility. However, being unable to obtain exact age figures even at the lowest age level, I threw out all obviously immature boys no matter how old they claimed to be, and hence the 18–20 group may have been selected. At the other end, I tried not to take bent-over, toothless old men, deformed by the diseases of senile decay. Hence my oldest age grade may also be selected, since senility does not strike all men equally at the same age.

The sample, insofar as it is accurate, gives an age spread suitable for racial study, since it includes the whole span of ages in which racial criteria find their full expression. It can also be used in a limited sense to study age changes. It is, however, no substitute for a study of changes, year by year, in the same individuals. Such a study is hard to make, for the observer himself lives on the same time scale as his subjects. Age changes studied in terms of different individuals have a much more limited application. If the sample is genetically constant in the generations covered (and, as far as we can tell, this one is), then the differences between age groups indicate changes that have been going on among the people concerned. By this means one can hope to track down progressive changes due to changing environmental influences acting on the organism either directly or through the agency of genetic selection.

TRIBAL VARIATIONS IN AGE

Table 10 also shows us that mean age varies regionally. The difference between the age of the youngest sample, Mati, and that of Has, the oldest, is 8.50 years, or 8.45 times p.e. This difference is probably great enough to be valid, even when my judgment in assigning ages to the subjects is taken into consideration.

From the sampling point of view only, most of the tribes differ significantly from each other in age means, although the age range of each is virtually the same. Six out of 10 vary

[See ref. 1th, p. 71 c -- Analyst]

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from the total mean more than 3 times the probable error. In the following statistical exercises, whenever we compare tribal samples with each other, we must remember that there is an 8-year probable span of age means, from 36 to 44 years, and that we must not consider regionally significant a difference in any criterion which varies less regionally than it varies in this 8-year age span in the series as a whole.

This question is further complicated by the fact that some tribal samples are more dispersed in age distribution than others. This can be measured by the values for the standard deviation. Dukagin has a σ of 9.25 years; Puka of 13.70 years. These are the extremes. This difference of 4.45 years=5.71 x p.e. and this is thus statistically significant. This difference in variability may also be expected to qualify the means in certain cases. In a character in which the highest values are found at, let us say, the 35–39-year-old age locus, and we have 2 samples each with a mean age of 38, then the sample with the lowest value for σ may be expected to show the higher mean. This is another reason why we must allow a little more than the conventional amount of leeway in interpreting the statistical significance of differences between tribal and other samples.

AGE AND STRENGTH

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No single criterion can be found which expresses the changing health, maturity, and vigor of a man more than his muscular strength. Table 11 shows values for hand squeeze in

TABLE 11: AGE AND STRENGTH, IN POUNDS.

AGE	#	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ	V
20–24...	107	60–160	112.80 ± 1.11	17.10	15.20
25–29...	154	75–170	115.00 ± .93	17.10	14.86
30–34...	164	50–180	114.60 ± 1.00	19.00	16.61
35–39...	163	70–185	115.30 ± 1.07	20.15	17.42
40–44...	125	45–170	112.10 ± 1.16	19.25	17.16
45–49...	106	50–150	103.65 ± 1.36	20.85	20.15
50–54...	88	65–140	103.90 ± 1.17	16.25	15.64
55–59...	51	50–140	103.35 ± 1.65	17.45	16.83
60–64...	58	50–130	96.05 ± 1.46	16.55	17.20
65–69...	15	50–115	91.00 ± 2.65	15.20	16.82
70–74...	14	70–130	95.70 ± 3.02	16.70	17.46
75–89...	11	75–110	90.00 ± 2.34	11.50	12.78
65–89...	40	50–130	92.40 ± 1.62	15.05	16.30

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

race, but they also part with information for *sevap* (charity), out of gratitude for another service, or as a courtesy due to the sacred character of a guest. With many practising village seers and doctresses, it is impossible to learn anything, or at best a carefully edited version. All sorts of excuses are made; the priest has forbidden them to spread their superstitions, they have ceased from practice, or forgotten their art; they fear ill-luck, or most discouraging of all, 'You gentry don't believe in our peasant cures. They will do you no good.' Or: 'What can a poor old woman tell you? The doctors know better than we do.' Then, if the investigator really wants to get at the bottom of things, he must either apply for help as a patient himself, or, if his appearance might be against him, especially in the case of a man, he should send someone else whom he can trust. Spells are sometimes refused, too, because of the use of obscene words and gestures.

Once an old operator was dying, and sent for me to see him. Not long before I had visited his house and questioned him. He held my hands while he told me about the plants which he used for salves; and when it came to telling of his manipulations he desired to show me, as well as he could for his extreme weakness, on my own limbs. Perhaps he had some idea that in this way he passed on his power, for when I feared that he might weary under the enormous effort which he was making, and someone standing by, misunderstanding, suggested that he bothered the visitor, he insisted upon doing it in his own way. I would gladly have had him leave all until he felt better, for the women of three generations of his family were already crouching on the floor and weeping, but apparently it was very much on his mind, and he half hoped that this very action might hasten recovery, or as one of his daughters whispered to me, set free his soul. (This particular was a little surprising, for these people were Albanian Moslems and I did not know that they held these views regarding death-bed confession.) The old man said: 'If I live, I will teach you all I know, and show you everything. But now I must do as much as I can in case I die.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

Swear that you will make only good use of what I tell you, that it be not a sin for me before God. Perhaps you will be able to tell me how to cure my disease and so more than repay me. Then I shall be able to tell you in a better way. But in any case I give you my secret now.'

A different case was my friend Ram Smail, another Albanian, and an unexpectedly patient collaborator. While I used to wander with him in the mountains near Peć, he picked the various herbs he knew, and explained their uses. He said one day: 'I am going to Asia. If you need me I will come back, or I will come to your country or I will send you herbs from Asia. I do this in friendship, because you are a stranger. I also shall be a stranger in Asia. I would not tell anyone from these parts. You go about unarmed, but what I tell you is a weapon.... I am leaving, besides, so it does not matter what you do afterwards.' In other words, I could inherit his practice, and, as he had more enemies than friends there owing to old feuds, he did not care if I killed off the whole population, once he was clear.

Many a man has learned the art of bone-setting or massage by watching others at work. The hospital servant and *feltscher* type of popular doctor are just as much respected as the self-taught or the inheritor of a tradition. A Serbian official document of 1836 mentions a certain Gavril Savić and his wife 'who, having suffered for a long time from wounds, have learned these remedies through treating themselves'. As a matter of fact anyone who knows a certain medicine or incantation can freely apply it, but on the principle that in this, as in all other things, some are 'lucky' and some are not, and a charm which may work with one may fail if recited by another. Hence the extreme care in guarding the monopoly of such secrets has a materialistic ground as well as a superstitious one. It is noteworthy that in many respects the same attitude is felt towards the priest. He owes his importance to his knowledge of prayers, to his reading and writing, and less to any belief in the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands. In the absence of a